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PICTURE OF FRANCE IN 1801.

The following extracts from a quarto volume, of 800 pages, recently published by CHAPTAL, the French Minister for the home department, under the title of "*Analyse des Procés Verbaux des Conseils, sessoin de l'An IX,*" (1801), while it will enable our readers to form a correct idea of the miserable internal situation of the country, to which Britain, in that same fatal year, for the first time, bowed the knee in sign of submission, will also give them a prospect of the probable consequences of that base and disgraceful act.—We are confident, that no work (the "Bloody Buoy," and the "Cannibal's Progress," excepted) exhibits such a combination of misery and crimes, and we are not at all surprised, that Citizen Chaptal's book should have been *suppressed*; but the more we look at the horrid picture the more resentment we feel against the feeble, the timid, and selfish men, who laid the glories of England at the feet of France, and who, in that weak and wicked act, exposed our country to all the horrors which this shocking picture presents to our view.

LAND-TAX, in the department of the ESCAUT: This department in extent is a 230th-part of the Republic; it pays a 58th-part of the land-tax.—MANCHE. The land-tax amounts to one-half of the net rent.—ROER. In many of the communes the land-tax amounts to one half, or two thirds of the net rent.—SOANE *(haute)*. In granting new leases, proprietors of land are obliged to lower their rent a 4th or a 5th below its amount in 1790.

AGRICULTURE.—SARRE. Agriculture is entirely neglected. For want of markets, farmers only sow as much as is necessary to provide for their families and their cattle.

SHEEP.—SEINE *(inferieure)*. The number of sheep is diminished one-third since 1790.

WOLVES.—AISNE. The number of wolves is greatly increased.—CANTAL. The increase of wolves is very alarming.—LOYRET. Wolves have multiplied to an alarming extent. The damage they commit is incalculable.—VENDÉE. Wolves carry off the cattle, and attack them even in their stalls.

COMMERCE.—FINISTÉRE. Foreign commerce is annihilated. Three fourths of our coasters have been either captured or destroyed.—MANCHE. The only remains of our trade are a few fishing boats, and a few privateers.—MONT TONNERRE. Smuggling is become very injurious to our commerce; the custom-house officers engage in this traffic. It is ascribed to the high duties on foriegn merchandize.—RHONE. We think that English goods should be prohibited; and that the fancy works of Lyons should be brought into fashion, both in France and abroad, by means of presents.—SEINE *(inferieure)*. France, in order to acquire the rank among the commercial nations of Europe to which she is entitled by her position, her industry, her force, and her riches, ought to establish an effectual act of navigation; to obtain from Spain the right of supplying South America with manufactures; and the privilege of importing Spanish wool, as a favoured nation; to form a commercial treaty with Russia, on a different plan from that of 1788, and with Denmark and Sweden; but, if possible, to avoid entering into a commercial treaty with Great Britain.—SOMME. The English are our most formidable rivals. Prohibit the introduction of their manufactures; burn them in the market place; post up the names of those who sell them; and determine what are English goods by judges selected from persons who are engaged in similar manufactures.

HOSPITALS.—BOUCHES DU RHONE. All the hospitals in this department are in a wretched state.—CREUSE. The state of the hospitals is worse than it was last year: they will soon cease to exist.—GARD. The distress of the hospitals in this department is general:

They require annually ..... Livres	230,479
Their revenues amount to	98,838
They are in arrear	213,951
They have lost.....	1,861,760

LANDES. The hospitals are threatened with total destruction: the sick can neither procure food nor medicine.

FOUNDLINGS.—ALLIER. The nurses have five years wages due to them: they will, therefore, receive no more foundlings. Nine-tenths of them are lost.—CANTAL. Extreme penury obliges this department to feed its foundlings with goat's milk. Seven-eighths die before they are one year old.—CHARENTE *(inferieure)*. For want of pecuniary means the establishments have ceased for two years to send their foundlings to nurse. Of two hundred infants received into the hospital at Saintes one only has lived.—CREUSE. The foundlings perish in consequence of neglect. Twelve or fifteen are suckled by two nurses.—LANDES. Infants enter into the hospital to die there by thousands: there are no means of providing nurses.—PYRÉNÉES *(hautes)*. Between the year two and the year nine, 3066 infants were received into the hospital at Tarbes: there are only 124 alive.

SOLICITATIONS FOR RELIEF.—GARD. The land-holders are ruined, and can no longer cultivate their vineyards. An immense number of labourers are without bread, and reduced to desperation.—NORD. The whole country exhibits marks of warfare. The fields have been stripped, the proprietors plundered, their houses burnt;

and yet the inexorable collectors of the revenue insists on receiving taxes from farms which have been wholly unproductive.

PRISONS.—AVEYRON. None of the prisons are both wholesome and secure: most of them are neither the one nor the other. The dungeons of Ville Franche are so damp, that straw, placed there, rots immediately. No where are women separated from men, or the convicted from those who are simply detained.—BOUCHES DU RHONE. The prisons of this department are in so unwholesome a state, that humanity is disgusted, and the public safety endangered. When the Rhone is high its waters filtre through the walls of the prison at Tarascon, and inundate its cells. No one comes out without a rheumatism for life. (We cannot do justice to the French expression—*il n'en sort que des cadavres rhumatisés pour la vie*)—DOUBS. Contractors for supplying prisons, in order to indemnify themselves for bad bargains, reduce the quantity of clothing and food allowed to prisoners; who have never been so ill treated as they are at present.—MANCHE. The prison at Mortain has no roof: the court yard of this prison is a complete common-sewer. The same may be said of the prison at St. Lo. The prison at Mount St. Michel is a wonderful piece of art: but, in its present state, it threatens to crush two hundred prisoners. Its lead and gutters have been carried off. The prison at Avranches is a subterraneous dungeon in which living victims are immured.—MAANE. The prison is in such a state, that the prisoners are threatened with instant death by its fall: they are, also, exposed to destruction from the mass of putrefaction which surrounds them.—OISE. A dungeon ten feet square, five feet high, and sunk seven feet below the level of the ground, constitutes the prison at Breteuil. The innocent, the accused, and the convicted, are all heaped together, in this tomb, without distinction of age or sex. During the year nine, it has altogether received 2278 prisoners. (Quere, if the little town of Breteuil, in one year, received 2278 persons into its prison, what number may we reasonably suppose, to have been immured during the same period in all the prisons of the Republic? We advise those Middlesex jacobinical orators, who can read, to peruse the whole of this chapter on prisons. It will furnish them with many embellishments for their next description of what they denominate an English Bastile.)

GREAT ROADS.—LOIRE *(Inferieure)*. The great roads are in a wretched state. 7,000,000 livres (about £300,000) are required to repair them, or rather to make them anew.—RHONE. The roads in every direction, through France, are impassable.—VOSGES. The roads are so entirely ruined, that the country people carry off the paving stones to build houses or to form enclosures. (The Prefect of the department of "the Var," in his statistical account, lately published, says, that the roads are a muddy abyss which sometimes swallows up carriages, horses, and drivers).

CROSS ROADS.—MAINE AND LOIRE. The roads are so execrable, that some *Communes*, for several months, have no intercourse with each other. Men and cattle are swallowed up.—NORD. The cross roads in this department are so bad that they may be fairly said not to exist.

CANALS.—YONNE. The canal of Burgundy has already cost sixteen millions (above £600,000) which will be all thrown away, if the completion of the canal is not speedily attended to.

PORTS.—MANCHE. The works at Cherbourg have been neglected; and are therefore in a state of ruin.

BRIDGES.—BOUCHES DU RHONE. The bridges are in as bad a state as the roads.

NAVIGATION.—SEINE *(inferieure)*. A navigation act (like that of England or Sweden) is much wanted.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—SCHOOLS.—AISNE. All the schools have been sold: few of the buildings remain. The children are left in a state of idleness and vagrancy; they have no ideas of a Supreme Being, and no notions of right or wrong. It is owing to this that our manners are harsh and barbarous, and that we are a ferocious people.—FORÊTS. Few persons in the country can sign their name.—GIRONDE. Our schools have too many holidays. The masters are obliged to shut their schools on the *Decades*; and parents will keep holy the days which the Christian religion appropriates to rest. So that, instead of correcting the abuses arising from too many holidays, we have increased them.—LYS. Most of the schoolmasters in the primary schools have obtained their situation by no other qualification than a readiness to take the oath which their predecessors had refused.—MARNE AND LOIRE. In all the little *Communes* there is no kind of school whatever.—MEUSE *(inferieure)*. It is to be feared that in fifteen years not one person in a hundred will be able to write.—PAS DE CALAIS. Children are left in the most profound ignorance, and the most alarming profligacy. Vandalism has destroyed almost every building appropriated to the purposes of education.

MUSEUMS.—ESCAUT. Nothing has afflicted the inhabitants of Belgium more sensibly than the loss of their pictures.

THEATRES.—DEUX SÈVRES. Young persons are grown extremely fond of theatrical declamation. May this taste accord with patriotism, with good morals, and with virtue!

POPULATION.—CANTAL. The population of this department is evidently reduced. In the year 3 (1795) it amounted to 244,016 persons: in the year 8 it was only 220,304.—CHARENTE *(inferieure)*. Its population is decreased from 420,000 persons (the amount in 1790) to 399,000. The causes of this difference are war—the wretched state of hospitals, the abandonment of infants, the repeal of the law which allows fathers and mothers to inherit from their children, the facility of procuring divorces, and early marriages, which are entered into through dread of military requisition.—GIRONDE. It is said, that population is diminished considerably in all the *Communes* of this department, and that it is reduced one-tenth in Bourdeaux. The causes (which are common to all France) are a destructive war by sea and land, emigration, proscription, famine, corruption of morals, the ruin of manufactures and of commerce, the want of labourers, and excessive fatigue.

REMARKS ON GOVERNMENT.—OISE. The council observes with regret, that their labours and their efforts are useless. Their last session has produced no improvement. Their requests and their informations have not been attended to. They ascribe these evils to the war; and they hope that peace will enable government to attend to the internal concerns of the republic.

REGISTERS.—ARRIÉGE. Not only negligence, ignorance, and inattention to duty, but wilful

mis-statements are found in the registers. To preserve friends from the military conscription and requisition some persons have made such entries in the registers, that it appears from them, that a woman, sixty years old, has married thirty-six conscripts, and that a mother six years old has been delivered of a son.—FINISTERE. Some *Communes* have no registers.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

"Music has charms to soothe the savage breast;"

How much greater, then, may we not expect its influence to be on the minds of a cultivated assembly of noblemen and gentlemen. As there seems to be a more than usual quantity of discord among our statesmen at present, I would advise the minister to try the effects of *harmony*. Instead of circular letters from the Treasury, how much better would it be, to send round a polite invitation to a Concert! The inclosed is a sketch of the selection which I think might form the First Act.—I am, Sir, your constant Reader,

G. Crotchet.

Concert of Music, Vocal and Instrumental, to be performed at the Great Room.

DEAD MARCH IN SAUL.

Glee for three Voices.

MR. ADDINGTON, LORD HAWKESBURY, and LORD CASTLEREAGH.

We are three poor Ministers,
Such as the CONSUL please;
From bluster to humility
We change about with ease.
Shall we again go round, around, around?
Shall we again go round?
If FOX will be our bully-boy,
With him we'll kiss the ground, the ground, the ground.
We care not for those martial men,
That our poor peace disdain;
But we care for those merchant men
That do our stocks maintain.
With them will we go round, around, around,
With them will we go round;
With them and FOX our bully-boy
Again we'll kiss the ground, the ground, the ground.

Bag-Pipe CONCERTO *by* GENERAL MAITLAND: *in which will be introduced the favourite tune of* "De'il take the Wars," *with variations.*

ANTHEM ON THE PEACE.

(As performed at Bisham Abbey)

MR. WILBERFORCE *and* MR. VANSITTART.

MR. WILBERFORCE.

The wise men are ashamed, they are dismayed, and taken: and what wisdom is in them? Jer. viii. part of ver. 9.

The way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein. Isa. xxxv. 8.

MR. VANSITTART.

They have healed the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly. Saying, peace, peace, when there is no peace. Jer. viii. 11.

MR. WILBERFORCE.

Why do we sit still? assemble yourselves and let us enter into the defenced cities and let us be *silent* there. Jer. viii. 14.

MR. VANSITTART.

We looked for peace, and no good came: and for a time of health, and behold trouble. Jer. viii. 15.

SOLO *on the Irish Harp by* COL. ARCHDALL, *who will introduce* "Croppies lie down."

QUINTETTO *from the Padlock.*

Mr. FOX, Mr. ADDINGTON, Mr. HOBHOUSE, Mr. NICHOLL, and Mr. WILBERFORCE.

Mr. FOX.

O thou, whose peace enchants my heart,
Hear me my politics explain.

Mr. ADDINGTON.

I must not hear—no more impart—
Too small, alas! is my desert
An orator, like you, to gain.

Mr. FOX.

Then do I seek your love in vain?

Mr. ADDINGTON.

It is another's right;

Mr. FOX.

——————— and he,
Seceder! is preferr'd to me,
Who here the brunt sustain!

Mr. HOBHOUSE.

(From the Bench above the Treasury.)

Come over, Charles, I've been to try.

Mr. NICHOLL.

(From the Stranger's Gallery.)

And so have I.

BOTH.

The Cabinet is not too high:
If you please,
You'll mount with ease.

Mr. FOX to Mr. ADDINGTON.

Can you a nod, a smile deny!
Shall it be so?
If you say no,
I cannot go.

Mr. ADDINGTON.

I to say no, or yes, am loath.
But, should PITT his room require,
Will you promise to retire?

Mr. HOBHOUSE.

Oh! you shall hear him take his oath.

Mr. FOX.

By what BUONAPARTE told;
By his liveries, green and gold;
His Mamelukes that still attend;
His more than royal state and cares.

Mr. WILBERFORCE.

Lord have mercy! how he swears!
He makes my hairs
All stand on end.

Mr. HOBHOUSE.

Come, that's enough—once more, my friend!

ALL.

Let us join, while join we may,
While at Bath, Pitt keeps away.
Rats, when puss is absent, play:
PITT may come, if we delay.

Full Piece by the Treasury Band.

TO THE EDITOR.

Mr. Editor,—I live in the country, and my time is chiefly spent in retirement and study: but I am a very attentive observer of every event in this important and critical period. Among the various productions of the present day your Register is the most popular, and I read it with pleasure and with instruction. The spirit of a real Briton animates every passage, the ardour of a loyal patriot for the welfare of his country glows in every sentiment, and the most profound knowledge of its political relations is conspicuous in every number of your publication. Is it then, Sir, extraordinary that it should be read with eagerness by every class of society? You alone, unawed by that dastard spirit of submission to a man, who is aiming to grasp the sceptre of the globe; that dastard spirit which, originating in the present timid ministry, and abetted, by those worthy Citizens Messrs. Fox and Burdett, enervates the courage, and depresses the vigour of this once glorious, but now falling, nation; you alone have stood in the gap of destruction, you have called upon us, you have warned us, you have painted in the most expressive colours the dreadful perils which surround us on every side; without, an implacable foe; and within, domestic and pernicious traitors; and your ideas are conveyed in a bold and free style, a masculine eloquence well suited to the conceptions of your fearless and sagacious mind. Sir, your fatal predictions from the moment of signing the preliminaries to this day were, alas! but too well grounded in truth: part of them have been literally fulfilled, and the rest are in a course of evident accomplishment. The prognostications of Mr. Burke on the progressive evils of the French revolution, then in its infancy, have been so exactly answered by subsequent facts, that posterity will be tempted to regard them as historical records collected long after the events. The same may be predicted of your own writings. If Porphyry, having industriously collated the testimonies of prophane historians, casual and undesigned, to the authenticity of Daniel's Prophecies, and found them uniformly harmonious, could explore no better means of relieving himself from the pressing difficulty than by a gratuitous affirmation that they were published after the transactions which, as he said, they affected to foretell; truly, Sir, so accurate have you and Mr. Burke been in your anticipations of what was to happen in this terrible convulsion of society, before it did actually happen, that we cannot reasonably censure another age if it look upon you both as no more than historians or annalists. But be that as it may: if an unexampled combination of moral depravity, inflicted by the righteous judgment of offended heaven upon a degenerate nation, had not deafened our ears against the most solemn proofs, appeals, and admonitions, you, Sir, would have roused again the antient energies of our valiant country, which the opiates of her present unskilful and dangerous physicians have now plunged in so deep unconscious a lethargy, as, I much fear, is a prelude to that leaden sleep of death from which she will awake no more. You would have stimulated her, while still flushed with health, to resist in time the ambition of the Corsican, which no compromise short of her destruction can satiate, and whose rooted enmity the grave only can extinguish.

Et si fata Deûm, si mens non læva fuisset,
Impuleris ferro Argôlicas fœdare latebras.

I mean this letter as an *introduction*; and, if you deem it worthy of a place in your Register, I shall be happy to maintain an occasional correspondence. In that case my next will consist of cursory remarks on the tergiversations of that political weather-cock, that Vicar of Bray in all changes of men and measures—Mr. Herbert, as they are prominently exhibited in his two stupid and heavy prints, the Sun and True Briton: of short, but, I hope, striking observations on the nature of that extraordinary bargain which Mr. Freeling, Secretary to the General Post-Office, attempted to drive with you; against whose proposal your upright mind, impelled by the noblest motive, to your eternal honour indignantly revolted: and in order last, but in consequences far more important and interesting, a copious examination of some very novel positions in the late speeches of Mr. Charles Fox, as they are given to the public in the Morning Post. The first person, if we consider him intrinsically as to his natural talents, or to his acquired knowledge, is of a character so neutralized, or, to speak with more logical

precision, so completely insignificant, as to be intitled to no more notice than any individual selected from the promiscuous multitude. But because newspapers are either useful or mischievous in proportion as they are, or are not, conducted upon the basis of genuine patriotism, and he is the proprietor of two (mere transcripts indeed from each other; but no matter, it does well enough for his purpose) admirably singular for their flexible accommodation to the ministerial powers that be

> "O'er bog, o'er steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare."

I will bring him forward on the scene just for a moment, and then, dismissing all memory of his name for ever, wish him a safe and speedy voyage to the gulph of that oblivion which is the proper termination of his political services. The second person is distinguished for his elevation, from an inferior department of the post-office on the western road, to a high station, and to great opulence: but I am not therefore convinced that he should have the privilege of limiting or extending *ad libitum* the periodical publications of the British press. This, forsooth, would be a marvellous conclusion! Of his public services, which he urged to you, I know nothing; and the world, I believe, knows just as much. The last personage is of more majestic port; a veteran in parliamentary evolutions and convolutions; a constant opposer of every measure, right or wrong, which during the last thirty years has emanated from government; the most ardent and indefatigable pupil in the school of Locke; a loud preacher of original compacts, and of resistance, not as a question of morality, but of prudence; a proclaimer of liberty to the whole earth in his speeches to the Senate, to the charmed populace in Palace-yard, and in the midst of copious libations at the merry meetings of the Whig Club.—But, O the wonder-working man! he has suddenly changed his tone; and, having for more than ten long years denounced vengeance and extermination to all tyrants and arbitrary Potentates, Kings, Czars, Emperors, Grand Signiors, Great Moguls, Beys, and Tartarian Khans, he now trumpets forth in the astonished ears of his country the virtues of her deadliest enemy; the praises of the fiercest despôt that ever shook a rod of iron over the human race; and, good man! he strenuously advises Britons—or rather those who, alas for the deed and for the cause! were once Britons—not to think of checking his ravage by war: O by no means! that would be very unkind and very ungrateful, that would create a schism in the "*western family*:" but to submit like dutiful and affectionate children to their protecting parent. Nay, he deprecates, might and main, the least symptom of rudeness and incivility from our insulted press to the gentle, to the moderate, to the dove-like Buonaparté, who has no other object in view but *the rivality of trade and commerce between France and England*. Well said! indeed, indeed, I give worthy Mr. Fox great credit for this most curious, most ingenious, and most miraculous discovery. Who now talks of war? Away with that odious and terrific vocabulary. After so consoling a piece of intelligence, the fears of the meek Addington will subside; each perturbed spirit will be at rest, and we shall all sleep in secure repose upon our pillows. I am, Sir, your, &c. &c. CARACTACUS.

Nov. 29, 1802.

TO THE HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

SIR,—It is, I assure you, with great reluctance that I take up the pen for the purpose of addressing, in this public manner, another letter to you: not because I feel any of those lingerings of respect, which still appear to restrain the indignation of some of my contemporaries, nor because I entertain the least dread of your vengeance; for, of the manifold sins, of which I have to repent, that of having, either in thought, word, or deed, ever been the adherent of Charles Fox, is certainly not amongst the number; and, there is not, that I know of, in the whole creation, a human being of whom I should be more ashamed to be afraid. My repugnance arises from an apprehension, that the subject is beneath the attention of my readers: it is, therefore, necessary for me explicitly to state, that, if I have thus a second time broken through the silence of disdain, the effort is to be entirely ascribed to the consequence which you derive from the countenance and friendship of the Consul of France.

That you should, on all proper occasions, evince your gratitude towards the person, who has honoured you with that countenance and that friendship, and whose powerful influence may have in store for you honours still greater, is perfectly natural; and, in particular cases, especially where the precious life of your friend may be exposed to danger, I can readily excuse that exaggeration, to which the vehemence of passion is apt to give rise. But, Sir, give me leave to say, that your anxiety for the

safety of Buonaparté led you, during a recent debate, totally to misrepresent a passage, to which you alluded, in the Political Register, which passage was written by me. You observed, that the London newspapers had published what redounded to their shame, particularly one of them, which had said, that "Great-Britain ought to "fight him" [meaning Buonaparté] "with "fleets and armies, and that Frenchmen "ought *to fight him with something more than a "pen*;" and this language you represented *as tending directly to instigate the* ASSASSINATION *of the person at the head of the government of France.* It is true, indeed, that you were instantly contradicted by acclamation; but you renewed the charge, and persisted in hinting, that the passage was matter for the animadversion of the Attorney General.

Passing over, for a moment, your misquoting of the passage in question, I shall allow, for argument's sake, that it contained the very words you gave it, and I defy you to prove that those words tend directly, or, indeed, at all, to instigate *assassination.* "*Frenchmen* ought to *fight* him "with *something more than a pen.*" Is it not fair to presume, that the Frenchmen here spoken of were the Royalists, including the Royal Family, of France; those whom Mr. Burke called *the French nation out of France?* And would any one but the friend of O'Connor style this numerous and respectable body of men *assassins?* Besides, what is it said, that they ought to do? To *assassinate* Buonaparté? No, no; but to "*fight* him with something more than a "pen." That is, perhaps, with swords, muskets, and cannons, instruments with which men are not said to *assassinate.* In short, it must be obvious to every man endued with the common powers of comprehension, that the words, as recited by you, have no such meaning as that which you endeavoured to affix to them.

But, besides this glaring and shameful misconstruction, you thought proper to make a misquotation also. The passage, to which you evidently alluded, was very different indeed, from the words on which you chose to comment. The subject was the threatened prosecution of M. Peltier: the words as follows: "If M. Peltier re- "frains from future attacks on Buonaparté, "nothing, we hope, will be done; and, if "our advice be of any weight with him, "it is *that he should so refrain.* After ten "years of labour, in the cause of mo- "narchy, against the infernal Republicans, "it would be very hard to be thrown into "Newgate for the rest of his life. Besides "we doubt of the policy of attacking "Buonaparté for his present acts *in* France. "We think it somewhat inconsistent that "M. Peltier should at all unite with the "Republican Journalists of London, the "principal ground of whose hatred to "Buonaparté, is, that he has blasted, for "ever and ever, the hopes of themselves "and their rebellious supporters. As "ENGLISHMEN, we would resist, we "would attack Buonaparté, *with fleets and "with armies*; and, were we FRENCHMEN, "*we would not attack him with a pen.*" (Register, p. 284)—Is this "*directly* instigating to *assassination?*" Will it bear any such construction? Does it not, when taken altogether, rather tend to dissuade from assassination? I must confess, that, when I wrote it, assassination never came into my mind: I did not think of it: I was blaming M. Peltier for joining with *your old friends* in abusing Buonaparté for having destroyed the hopes of the Republicans; and in the concluding sentence, I had evidently nothing more in view than to say, that, neither the British Nation nor the Royalists of France *had any thing to hope from a war of words.* I appeal to every man of sense and sincerity, whether this be not the obvious meaning of a passage, which you have construed into a *direct* instigation to *assassinate* the person at the head of the government of France. As you are fond of a dilemma take this: either you had not read the Register, p. 284, or you had. In the one case you were guilty of making a violent and calumnious assertion, without having troubled yourself about the fact; in the other, of having wilfully mistated my words, for what purpose is evident enough.

As to my *sentiments* respecting the "hor- "rid deed," the very idea of which has caused such emotion in your tender bosom, be assured, Sir, that, as I would not give the price of the sheet of paper, on which I am now writing, to *preserve* the life of your friend, so would I by no means advise the *destroying* of that life. Another friend of yours, who conducts the Paris ARGUS, has also accused me of instigating the assassination of Buonaparté, a charge which is absolutely false. Whenever I have spoken on the subject (as I recollect I did at the time of the "*infernal machine*,") I have unequivocally declared, that, whether in time of peace or war, such a deed, on the part of *an Englishman*, whether by his own hand *or the hand of another*, would be *infamous.* With respect to the same deed, on the part of a

French Royalist, who had never owned allegiance to the present government of France, and who should act in behalf of himself, his fellow subjects, and his native lawful sovereign, I have never given an opinion. It will be time enough for me to turn casuist, when I see some execrable black-hearted traitor attempting to *cashier* my own sovereign, and to plunge my country into slavery, misery, and blood. No, no, Sir, it is not men of my stamp that would assassinate your friend, or that would even wish to hear of his being so disposed of. Our sentiments on this subject were thus expressed a very few weeks ago: "Buonaparté has returned to Paris, safe and sound, in spite of the prayers and predictions of the timid herd, who were in hopes of losing their fears in his loss of life. There are none but the basest of cowards, who look to the death of this man as a deliverance from danger. Yet, disgraceful as is the fact, the hopes of no small portion of the advocates of peace have no better, no more honourable foundation. Those who, like ourselves, were opposed to a disgraceful peace with Buonaparté, do not, nor ever did, entertain any such foolish hope; we know that if he were dead to-morrow, another, perhaps even more dangerous, would arise to fill his place: we are for the employment of no base means of offence or of defence, but are for a fair and honourable contest between the two nations, in which, with God's good help, we should hope to come off victorious, and to rescue our country from impending ruin and slavery." (Register, p. 666). These are our sentiments, Sir. It is your bawlers for *peace and plenty on any terms*; your philanthropic haters of *all war*; your men who would "rather be *kicked a little* than *fight much*;" these are the men (if, indeed, they are worthy of the name), who would gladly contribute half-a-crown a piece to purchase the death of the Consul; not because he is the enemy of their sovereign and of the glory and independence of their country, but because his restless and ambitious mind may conceive such projects as will deprive them of their wealth, or compel them to defend it. The very same motives of selfishness and cowardice, which led them to embrace Buonaparté, would also lead them, if they could do it with the certitude of impunity, to slip a dagger in his side. That *cowards are always cruel* is a maxim, which has been most amply verified by the statements, the predictions, and the wishes of those English prints which have been loudest in the defence of the peace. How often have they encouraged their readers to believe, that the Consul's life was in jeopardy! How many stories have they hatched about plots and conspiracies! With what delight have they counted over and over again the thousands of French troops, slain in St. Domingo! What monstrously exaggerated pictures have they drawn of the ravages of the yellow fever! Horrible enough, God knows, it is; but they have made it ten times more horrible, while they have most hypocritically affected to pity "the poor sufferers!" Is any thing of this sort, any thing savouring of cowardly malice and cruelty, to be found in the Political Register? Is there any sentiment, which would authorize a belief, that the writer would be content to owe the safety of himself or his country to the hand of an assassin or the ravages of disease? If there be such a sentiment, from the first page I ever wrote in my life to that which is now under my hand, I will suffer that hand to be burnt from my body. No, Sir; one of my objections to the peace of Amiens, one of my reasons for beholding that measure with detestation, is, that it has reduced this once brave and honourable people, a people famed for the frankness of their professions and the fairness of their combats, to affect friendship for those whom they hate, and to hope for security from the lowest and foulest of means.

While, however, I thus show the groundlessness of your charge against me, and those who think like me with respect to Buonaparté, I cannot help congratulating that favourite of fortune in having found in you so affectionate, so zealous, and so vigilant a friend. During your visit to "the capital of the world," I have frequently heard it asserted, that you were become the most listless and most torpid of mortals; nay, some persons went so far as to doubt, whether you were not asleep at the time you crossed the channel, and whether you would, at your return, recollect that you had been in France! Nor was this opinion altogether contradicted by your conduct. You had just informed the patriots of Westminster, that, if they re elected you, you did not know that your attendance in parliament *would be more constant than it had been.* You saw no *probability of doing any good there.* Thanks to the air of France, thanks to the animating friendship of the First Consul, which have rouzed you into life, activity, vigour, and watchfulness!

It is impossible to observe your anxiety for the personal safety of Buonaparté, and to

hear your animadversions on whatever you choose to regard as tending to excite hatred and violence against him; it is absolutely impossible to see and hear this, without adverting to your conduct with respect to the murder of the lawful King of France, and also with respect to those repeated attempts which have been made to destroy the throne and the life of your own Sovereign. Did you ever express your detestation of the men who murdered Louis the XVIth.? Is there one of the French regicides, who has to complain of your censure? I do not say, that you ever have, in so many words, commended them for murdering the prince to whom they owed, and to whom they had formally sworn, allegiance; but this I do say, that almost all the rebels and regicides of France have, at different times, been, even individually, the objects of your praise and admiration. And where, I pray you, Sir, shall I look for a proof of your dislike to the rebels, the traitors, the regicides, and the would-be regicides of England and Ireland? Shall I find it in your loathsome calumnies on the House of Stuart, in your miserable attempt to defend the characters of Russel and Sidney, in your testimony at Maidstone, or in your silence at the time of the mutiny in the fleet? Where, where, Sir, shall I find, in all the cumbrous volumes of harangues, which you have uttered, during the last ten years of treasons and conspiracies against the throne and the life of your sovereign, where, pray tell me where, I shall find one single sentence or phrase, expressive of your abhorrence of those diabolical machinations? Will you refer me to your speech at the Shakespeare Tavern, on the 10th of October, 1801?—"The peace is glorious to France "and to the FIRST CONSUL, and *I rejoice at* "*it*. We have *not* gained the object of the "war, and I like the peace *so much the* "*better*."—"France has set AN EXAM-"PLE, *which will be highly useful to all the* "*nations of the earth, and, above all,* to "GREAT BRITAIN."—"I fear, that, "from the nature of the contest, in which "you have been engaged, you may have "contracted principles of admiration for "unlimited monarchy, but the peace, *fol-*"*lowed up by a good understanding between* "*the two countries*, will do them away. I "hope we shall *return to the temper* which "we were in when we CASHIERED *one* "*king, and elected another*."—And is it you, Sir, you, who could utter these words to a senseless, a heated, and a soured rabble; is it you, who are now so alive to every expression and word, that may, even by *possibility*, tend to excite hatred and violence against the most implacable and most formidable enemy of your country? The difference in your sentiments and feelings on these different occasions is so strongly marked, and the conclusion to be drawn therefrom is so evident, that any attempt at a further exposition of your *motives* would be totally superfluous.

It was my intention to have concluded this letter with some remarks on the furious assault, which you have recently made on the London news-papers, in which, though you did, indeed, only repeat, almost word for word, the charges before preferred by Buonaparté's official Journal, you have, at once, not only given up, but flatly contradicted, all your former opinions and declarations respecting that "precious gem of the British "Constitution," that "palladium of free-"men," that "birth-right of Britons," called the *liberty of the press*, which an honest Chinese, after hearing a translation of one of your famous harangues on the subject, once took to be *the meat, drink and clothing of the inhabitants of this kingdom!* It was my intention to have made a comparison between your former and your present notions; to have traced you down to the last Shakespeare dinner, and to have shewn how sudden and surprising your conversion has been; but, want of room compels me to defer this subject until another opportunity; which I do with the less regret, as I leave you in the more able hands of a writer in the Morning Post, whence, I trust, you will not escape, until you have been exhibited in your true and proper colours to every man, woman, and child in the kingdom.—I am, &c. &c.

London, Nov. 30, 1802. WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The public are curious to know, why the anniversary of your election *has not been celebrated this year*; and also, why the rump of the Whig Club *has discontinued its meetings*.—As to the *Stuart manuscripts*, too, which it was pretended you went to Paris to consult; it is still averred, that the far greater part of those manuscripts were destroyed long ago, and that what remains of them is at *Edinburgh* instead of Paris.—You are very much mistaken, Sir, if you think, that *silence*, on your part, will operate in your favour.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Friday, November 26.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The Speaker stated, that his Majesty had been waited on with the

Address, and had been pleased to return a most gracious answer. Petitions complaining of undue elections, were presented from Nottingham, Bridgewater, Inverness, Liskeard, Waterford, Drogheda, and Hereford county. The order of the day being read, for taking into consideration that part of his Majesty's speech relative to the supply, the House resolved itself into a committee of supply, *Mr. Alexander* in the chair. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved, that a supply be granted to his Majesty, which was agreed to, and the report ordered to be received on Monday. — *Admiral Berkley* wished to know whether any arrangement had taken place with Spain since the peace, relative to the cutting of logwood and dye-woods, in the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras? *Mr. Addington* replied, that no arrangement had taken place with Spain on the subject.—*Mr. Burdon* brought up the bill for suspending the operation of the 15th and 17th Geo. III. prohibiting the circulation of Promissory Notes under a certain value. Bill read, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

Monday, November 29.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Petitions complaining of undue elections, were presented from Ilchester, East-Grinstead, Glasgow, Oakhampton, Harwich, and Berwick-upon-Tweed. —Petitions were presented from the Malsters and Brewers of Bristol, Coventry, Plymouth, and Leominster, praying the repeal of the Act regulating the Process of Malting.—The report of the committee of supply was brought up, read, and agreed to.—Estimates of the ordinary expense of the navy; of the charges necessary for building, &c. ships of war; of the guards, garrisons, and other land forces; and also of the ordnance-office, for the year 1803, were ordered to be laid before the House.—*Mr. Vansittart* brought up an account of the amount of Exchequer bills outstanding, and unprovided for.—A clerk from the Customs presented an account of the bounties paid on corn and rice.—An account was also presented of the receipts, disbursements, and progress of the London Dock-Company.—The Country Bank Note Bill was read a second time.—A petition was presented from the Chymists and Druggists, praying the repeal of the Medicine Act of last session.—A committee for considering such laws as are about to expire was appointed.—The time for receiving private petitions was limited to the 14th of February.

Tuesday, November 30.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. — *Admiral Berkeley* presented a petition from the prisoners in the gaol of Gloucester. Petitions complaining of undue elections were presented from Liskeard, Taunton, Boston, Malmesbury, and Stirlingshire.—*Mr. Alexander* brought up the report on the Expiring Laws.—*Mr. Vansittart* moved for an account of the amount of Exchequer Bills issued under an Act of the 42d Geo. III. outstanding and unprovided for. — *Mr. Praed* brought up the report of the committee on the Petition of the Subscribers to the Grand Junction Canal.—*Mr. Addington* informed the House that the number of seamen at present employed in the public service was 50,000.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Proclamation to the Helvetic People, from the Government of Helvetia.

CITIZENS OF HELVETIA.—In announcing to you, four month ago, that the French troops were about to quit our soil, the Council of Execution at the same time declared to you, that a constant obedience to the laws, a spirit of confidence and peace, the union of all wishes for the maintenance of the established order of things, could alone protect your independence; while the contrary dispositions, disobedience, tumult, and dissensions, would infallibly bring back a foreign army.—You have not attended to our words, Citizens of Helvetia! Ambitious men have induced you to embrace the cause of their interests and their passions; and while one party amongst you roused itself at their calling to overturn the constitutional and national government, the other party became, by its silence, an accomplice in the civil war.—What is the result? A few weeks have scarcely passed, when the French troops, ten times more numerous than they were last spring before their departure, penetrate into your Cantons; they take from you the arms which you have turned against your government, and thus declare to all Europe that you are at once incapable of remaining at peace, and unworthy to protect yourselves.—Tell us then, Citizens of Helvetia, to whom you owe the return of these troops? Is it to the Senate and to the Council of Execution, whose fault was, on the contrary, to consent too soon to their departure, and whose whole study latterly tended to prevent, by a frank and loyal acceptance of the mediation of the Chief Consul, the evils which we had to fear from his indignation? Or is it to the Insurrectional Authorities, to the assembly which dignified itself with the name of the Confederate Diet of Schwitz? To that Assembly which, rejecting the conditions of the proposed mediation, promising to dissolve itself, and notwithstanding continuing its intrigues, announcing peace, and keeping the soldiers under arms, wishing that a foreign force might enter the country, that they might have it in their power to say, "we yielded only to force!" Miserable vanity, which gratifies itself at the expense of a whole nation! Wretched ebullition of pride, calculated to precipitate the country into complete ruin, and which it would have done, if the generosity of the Chief Consul had not equalled his power, notwithstanding all the efforts of his enemies, and of yours, he had not still persisted to wish your welfare.—However, Citizens of Helvetia! the Council of Execution is informed of it; the members of that seditious assembly, and the committees which it had established in the Cantons, not content with having consecrated, in formal protestations, their foolish pretensions, still seek to mislead the people respecting their real situation, to spread false hopes of foreign succour, to frighten them by menaces, and to belie the intentions in which the Helvetic Go-

vernment addressed itself to the Chief Consul, to invite him to make himself the supreme arbiter of our differences.—But we will answer these men, that they likewise have invoked that mediation. The letters of the chiefs of the Little Cantons to the Chief Consul, and to the ministers of France; the plans of constitution on which they openly called for their good offices; the sending deputies to Paris, are so many proofs of the desire which they had of interesting the French government in their cause. It was only when the First Consul had previously demanded and exacted the cessation of a war which armed citizens against citizens, and brothers against brothers, that they rejected the mediation solicited by themselves, and which they then artfully turned for the purpose of increasing the number of their partizans.—We will tell them again, that if we have called for the mediation of the First Consul, it is because, of all the powers called by their position, to take an interest in the destinies of Helvetia, France is the only one which has recognized our independence, consecrated, by its means, in a solemn treaty: the only one which can exercise over us an influence of protection and support. The history of Switzerland for five centuries, our revolution, and the years which have succeeded it, sufficiently prove how much it is our interest to follow the political system of France. It is this truth which, engraved on the hearts of our ancestors, protected the cradle of the Confederation, and we, Citizens of the Helvetic Republic, have a thousand times more reason still to be convinced of it.—Lastly, we will say no longer to these men, for they will not understand us, but to the Nation itself, that the Equality of Rights amongst the Cantons, the abolition of Hereditary Privileges, the Liberty of the Citizens, being a deposit placed in our hands to be preserved at any price, it was not permitted to us to waver respecting calling for the mediation of the only government which can preserve to us these principles.—Thus, our conduct in this respect has been only the necessary consequence of the national will, expressed in favour of these same principles at the time of the acceptance of the constitution.—Such is the answer which the Council of Execution owes to that part of the accusations of its enemies.—With regard to the other accusations by which it is attempted to raise against them a factious hate, they despise them, well knowing that they cannot cite a single family of which it has caused the ruin, or a single person in whom the rights of a citizen have been violated. It is, on the contrary, for having been too indulgent, too confident in the justice of its fellow-citizens, too little severe, in short, that it has experienced misfortunes. The insurrectional Authorities ordered in four weeks ten times more arrests, odious inquests, and measures of rigour of every kind, than it had ordered during the whole course of its existence.—Citizens of Helvetia! you will be required to furnish extraordinary contributions for the support of the troops which your insurrection have caused to enter your country. Submit yourselves to a necessity which you cannot tax with injustice; open your hearts to dispositions of fraternity and social order; it is the only means of abridging the period of your misfortunes. Shew yourselves, in short, worthy to be called a Nation, and you will become one.—Bonaparté only desires to have still the power of interesting himself in your destinies.—For us, Citizens, thanks to the care of this generous Mediator, our task will soon be finished. Returned into the class of private individuals with those who have so cruelly calumniated our conduct, we shall be always ready to answer their imputations. Henceforth there is no sacrifice to which we are not resigned, if it can only be profitable to our country. *Done at Berne, Nov.* 3, 1802.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Vienna, Nov. 3.—The Emperor returned from Presburgh the day before yesterday.—The Spanish ambassador, Prince Castel Franco, had yesterday his first audience.—The French ambassador yesterday gave a splendid ball, at which the archdukes, the Grand Duke Constantine, and above 800 persons, were present.—*Nov.* 12. His royal highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany wrote to the First Consul, to announce to him the death of the archduchess his wife, and at the same time to remind him of his royal highness's present situation. The First Consul, in his answer, expressed much concern for the loss the prince had sustained.—Our court is at present occupied in procuring for the Archduchess Amelia, who will soon leave her residence at Parma, an income suitable to her rank.—The French minister has notified to our Government the *annexation* of Parma, Placentia and Guaitalla to France.

Barcelona, Nov. 6.—A Portuguese squadron of four sail of the line arrived lately at Carthagena, to purchase provisions; they afterwards sailed against the Barbary powers.—We have but slight hope that our disputes with the Algerines will be settled without considerable sacrifices on our part.—The English minister, Mr. Frere, is daily expected at Madrid.

Manheim, Nov. 17.—A dispute has arisen between the courts of Munich and Carisruhe, respecting the museum, gallery, library, &c. belonging to this city. The Elector of Bavaria has sent Count Rumford and M. de Hacfelin here, for the purpose of removing to Munich all the objects of arts and sciences which could be considered as public property. A representation having been made to our new sovereign, the Margrave of Baden, he gave orders to fix seals upon the doors of the museum, &c. Count Rumford has sent to Munich for further orders.

Switzerland, Lucerne, Nov. 8.—M. M. Aloys Reding and Aufder-Maur arrived here, escorted by fifty French hussars, and one hundred infantry. While they were here, no one was allowed to converse with them. They are gone to the fortress of Arbourg. They likewise speak of the arrest of M. M. Zellwegen, of Troguen; Peister, of Schaffhausen; Merian, of Basle; and Reding, of Baden, ex-senators. These are to be conducted to the castle of Chillon, in Geneva.—*Basle, Nov.* 13. The French commandant of this city has received orders to arrest M. Merian, deputy of the canton to the last diet of Schwitz; but the order has not been executed, in consequence of his flight. A detachment of thirty men has been lodged in his house, and will remain there till

he re-appears.—*Berne, Nov.* 20. On the 16th instant, dispatches arrived at Berne from Paris, and on the same day General Ney had a long conference with the executive council. On the next day, the general left Berne. It is not known whither he is gone. The municipality of Berne have appointed M. de Mulinen to represent them at the consulta of Paris, and he has accepted the appointment. This is the same person whom the provisional government sent to Paris six weeks ago. He went to General Ney, and solicited the release of Reding and others; but all that he could obtain was a permission for M. Thorman, formerly secretary of state, to see Aloys Reding, at Arbourg. Hartmann, of Thurstetten, the former sub-prefect of the districts of Wangen and Lanzenthal, has been taken up. He is accused of having attempted to foment a new insurrection in the country parts. It is said also, that some Bernese, who went lately into the Pays de Vaud, have been arrested. The Ex-Landamman of Underwald, Warsch, has been removed to the prison of Lucerne, and thrown into a dungeon. But as soon as M. Basingen, curate of Stantz, and who had been dispossessed of his cure during the time of the insurrection, by the influence of the Landamman, was informed of the circumstance, he went to Lucerne, and interceded so strongly in his favour, that the Landamman obtained permission for him to be confined in an inn of the town. The Ex-Landamman of Appenzel has been sent to the citadel of Arbourg. The canton of Zurich has appointed the Ex-Director Laharpe as its deputy at Paris. He is thus the representative of three cantons, Zurich, Zug, and Berne. On the 6th, several persons had assembled in order to appoint a deputy to the consulta, and to draw up a memorial to Buonaparté, of whom they proposed to solicit a popular government. This measure appeared to be illegal in the eyes of the constituted authorities, and the peasants were sent back to their respective houses. More troops have been sent into the eastern cantons. Arrests multiply, and the number of patriots who have been arrested is very great indeed. Disconsolation in Switzerland is general and deep.

Stutgard, Nov. 18. (*very important article*).—One of the most important considerations which at present appears to occupy the attention *of the several continental powers*, is, *the restraining the political influence of the English in Europe, and other parts of the world, within the limits of the British dominions.*—Since there exists no other formidable power to whom commerce is necessary, and since the productions of their native soils are inadequate to the supply of civilized nations, among whom industry and art require new materials, and luxury fresh sources of enjoyment, England has become, in some degree, a central power in the new world, of which the antients seemed to entertain a very weak idea: she finds in our tastes, our necessities, our commercial relations, our habitudes, and our speculations, a powerful lever, of which she well knows how to avail herself, in moving the different political bodies, which have been formed since the revolution effected in the minds of men about two centuries since: those consist of nations to whom nature has afforded opportunities of self-aggrandizement, to make advances, and, in fact, to establish themselves with advantage in the new empires, of which civilized men have achieved the conquest. In order to exercise her power *in Europe*, England has never moved from the center of this part of the political world.—It is, however, *in both the Indies*, in all the seas, and in various colonies, that she has established the principle of this power, which never will cease, in a manner, to be continental, as long as the continent itself continues the colonial system, or *as long as England continues so important a part of the colonial dependencies*, which are, in some degree, an integral part of Europe.—Do we not see that this *uniformly ambitious nation* has secured her power, in consequence of her always extending it, and becoming, in a certain point of view, more and more European, by her aggrandizement, and consolidating her power in Asia, America, and on the coast of Africa?—The possession alone of the city and fortress of Alexandria, is more interesting to it than the possession of a rich province. *The retention for some weeks, and the enjoyment of the post of Malta*, is but a part of a system, which leads her to regard, as an important acquisition, every naval station, which can, in any degree, enhance her maritime strength.—*England is too powerful in India, for any part of Europe to escape her influence.* France alone is capable of *counteracting* this preponderance—the question regards that of a power, founded principally on the possession of riches; and though France be happily situated by nature, for contesting, one day, that power which she has so often contested with advantage, it cannot be denied that the misfortunes of the latter times have not retarded the epocha which ought to re-animate the industry and exertions of a powerful nation. The consciousness of its greatness, the necessity of its forming new establishments, and the incitements of a species of glory which alone appears to be a stranger to the French nation, that when delivered up to intestine commotions and continental wars, she has been able to employ her naval strength only to fight and to attack, and not to aggrandize and enrich herself in another hemisphere.—The French power in both the Indies, has, at all times, been less burthensome than that of England. This antient reputation must necessarily be favourable to French commerce, when once established in those countries. We already learn from Asia, that the aggrandizement of the English, and the manner in which they gained possession of the wealth and dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, have excited general resentment in that quarter. *The colonial power of the English is arrived at its acmè, and in future it will certainly decline. This consideration promises a gleam of hope to the maritime powers of the Continent, by the prospect of being enabled to aggrandize their fortune; and*

by a wise and happy administration of their resources, to open to themselves new sources of wealth and prosperity.

France.—Paris, Nov. 20.—On the 16th, the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth, demanded an audience of the minister for foreign affairs, by whom he was received with the greatest consideration.—*Nov.* 26. An arrêté, passed by the Consuls on the 19th inst. relative to the island of Guadaloupe and its dependencies, contains the following articles:—Art. I. All local lists of emigrants formed in the colonies are suppressed, and to be regarded as of no effect. They cannot be urged in bar of the claims of proprietors to be put in possession of their effects.—II. The emigrants only from the European territory of the republic, are to be considered as such in the colonies when they are unable to produce vouchers of their names having been erased, or their having been included in an act of amnesty, conformably to the laws, arrêtés, and senatus-consulta, passed upon this subject. III. In consequence of these dispositions, none of the proprietors of colonial estates, who have resided on the European territory of the republic since the month of May, 1792, can be put in possession of those estates by the prefects, or other administrators in chief of the colonies, until they have produced the requisite proofs, according to the forms hitherto in use, relative to their residence, their non-emigration, or erasure, or that they have been admitted to enjoy the benefit of the amnesty, pronounced by the senatus-consultum of the 26th of April last.—*Nov.* 27. A Neapolitan frigate has arrived at Toulon, with several valuable antiques, which his Sicilian majesty had sent as a present to the First Consul.—The Count Stahremberg, minister extraordinary from his Imperial to his Britannic Majesty, passed, on the 22d of this month, through Nancy to Paris, where he will remain a short time before he sets out for London.—By a decree of the Chief Consul, the table allowance for officers in the navy serving in America, Asia, or Africa, is to be doubled upon their arrival in any of the colonies.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The final settlement of the affairs of Germany (that is to say, till France chooses to make another change in them) seems to be near at hand; and, it is probable, that the world will shortly be put in possession of an authentic account of the new distribution of the power, rank, and territory of the Empire, through the columns of the Moniteur.—It was, by some of the newspapers of last week, stated, that the Duke of Tuscany was to receive part, at least, of the dominions of Parma, the whole of which, as we observed before, belonged eventually and of right to the House of Austria; but, we find (see p. 724), that the French Ambassador at Vienna has announced to his Imperial Majesty, that the Duchy of Parma and its dependencies are *united to the Republic of France*; and we are not informed, that the Emperor has said a single word in reply.

In the mean time, the Elector of Bavaria seems to be new-modeling his government and dominions upon the French plan; and, we should not be at all surprized, if the Prince of Baden, whom the honest Talleyrand has surnamed "*the good*," were to follow the example of his neighbour. In fact, the whole of the Empire of Germany is, either directly or indirectly, under the influence, and, indeed, under the command of France. Had *we* kept the colonies and the sea, the powers of the Continent would have retained some degree of hope; but, seeing us basely yield the only remaining counterpoise to the monstrous power of the common enemy of all independent nations, they hastened to save themselves from the effects of her vengeance, by an early and implicit submission to her will.

Our foreign intelligence furnishes nothing, respecting Switzerland, but the mere continuation of that series of events, which began with the proclamation of Buonaparté (see p. 423), and which is no more than a dull repetition of what we have seen acted over and over again, in all the countries which France has subjugated. Troops have been marched into the country, in order to maintain its liberty; and, extraordinary contributions have been raised (see p. 722) in order to maintain the troops. The people of the country have been disarmed; those of known hostility to France have been arrested and imprisoned, and will, doubtless, never more be suffered to deprive their country of those "*blessings of peace*," which Buonaparté has in store for it. While those patriots are (totally unpitied by the universal patriot Fox) passing their time in the same dungeon, perhaps, which holds the unfortunate Citizen Toussaint, their more pliant countrymen, who, like our "*prudent* ministers," have the happiness to please the Chief Consul, are, in obedience to his proclamation, assembling, at Paris, for the purpose of forming a new constitution for their country. The persons thus collected together are to be called a *Consulta*; and, though they will not, probably, come to a determination in terms exactly similar to those of the Consulta of Lyons, we venture to predict, that, in substance and effect, there will be but very little difference in the two. Devoted as the Swiss Deputies, composing this Consulta, may well be supposed

to be to the will of Buonaparté, it has not been thought adviseable to trust the business entirely to them; and, accordingly, we find, that the Ex-Director Laharpe has been chosen *to represent no less than three of the Cantons*; a precaution, however, which would seem entirely unnecessary, since it appears, that Citizen Hautrive (a clerk in the honest Talleyrand's office), has had the goodness to undertake the drafting of the constitutional act!—Nay, reader, mock not the poor Swiss! Gibes, on such a subject, but ill become Englishmen of the present day; very ill indeed they become those, who, for the sake of "peace and a large loaf," have basely surrendered the honours handed down to them from their forefathers, and who are now patiently waiting to receive the yoke, which already encircles the necks of the descendants of William Tell. Mock not the mountaineers of Switzerland: they had not the means of resistance; we have money, navies, and armies. Mock them not, nor their *Consulta*; for, be you well assured, that, unless a great and speedy change takes place in the policy and the conduct of this government, there will be a *British* Consulta at Paris, before this day two years. "Oh! it is impossible," say the listless, selfish, cowardly, canting tribes; "it is IMPOSSIBLE *that the French should come here!*" —So said the people of Berne, and so they continued to say, not only till the French troops entered Switzerland, but to the very morning of the day that they entered their own city!—We cannot dismiss this subject, without adverting to a passage in the Ministers' official paper of the 29th instant. It contains their answer to the remarks in page 701 of our last sheet.—"A very strong "public feeling, on the subject of Switzer- "land, has evidently been mistaken by "some for a wish *to renew the war*; which "has, however, been completely disproved "by the recent proceedings in Parliament. "Possibly *our own sentiments*, on this sub- "ject, may have been *too strongly expressed* "If we have been in *an error*, we shall "find abundant allowance for it, in the "breast of every generous cotempo "rary!"—As coming from the worm, who is the owner and the ostensible conductor of this paper, passages like this are, of course, unworthy of notice; but, as coming from the ministers themselves, or from their immediate confidential agents, they are not only worthy of notice, but are to be regarded as documents little short of official declarations. The above miserable apology, then, is all that this injured, this insulted, and disgraced country, is to receive by way of answer to the *remonstrance* which was presented in behalf of the Swiss, and which Buonaparté treated with that contempt, with which every thing emanating from the present ministry will be treated. This apology is, too, to compensate for the rebuff which we have met with at Vienna. The Emperor thought, doubtless, that, as we were "*too honest*" to have continental connections, it was pity to endanger the morality of so innocent and modest a people; or, which is, indeed, much more likely, he thought it the height of inconsistency in us to interfere for the *independence* of a people, whose *dependence* we had tacitly sanctioned by the treaty of Amiens. He thought too, most probably, that it would be absurd to expect good faith from a nation and ministry, who, with all their overstock of honesty, had retained Ceylon and Trinidad at the expense of the Queen of Portugal and the King of Sardinia; and who, by way of a reward to the Stadholder, for services rendered to England, sent him to seek an indemnity in the plunder of the Empire of Germany. His Imperial Majesty further thought, perhaps, that no great reliance was to be placed on the courage of those, who had surrendered the honour of the British flag; and who, at the command of the Consul, had unbarred the prison doors to the traitor Napper Tandy. These, these are the circumstances, which will, which must, occur to every court, with which we shall attempt to form a connection, even of the most trifling kind. The treaty of Amiens, particularly as it has been illustrated by the subsequent conduct of our government and that of France, is, to this nation, a mark of infamy, which, if not indelible, will not be easily worn away. It will require time, and pains and patience; it will demand liberality, fortitude, and courage; we must tread back, not a part, but the whole of our steps, since the month of March 1801; we must, in short, so think, speak, and act, as to efface from our own minds and from the memory of the world, that we have ever been governed by the counsels of the Addingtons and the Hawkesburies.

In our last (see p. 699) we quoted a passage from the Moniteur of the 17th ultimo, relative to our domination in India, the object of which, as we then observed, was, to excite against this country, the jealousy, the envy and the hatred of the nations of the Continent. Another article of the same tendency (see p. 725) has since been published at Paris, in the Gazette de France,

after, as it would appear, having been first published, in the German language, at Stutgardt, in the Duchy of Wirtemburg. We beg leave to request our readers to peruse this article with great attention: it aims at several points, and all its shafts are barbed with poison. The truth is (and it is a truth of the utmost moment), that France, having completely severed us from the continent of Europe, having taken effectual means for our ruin in the West-Indies, and for shutting us out of the Mediterranean, has only one more object to accomplish, preparatory to our final destruction; and that is, to shake our power, and disturb our trade in the East Indies; and, in order to avoid all impediment in this enterprize, she is beginning, beforehand, to persuade the nations of Europe, particularly the maritime nations, that the colonial greatness of England is the great cause of all the evils they have endured and do yet endure; that it is Great Britain alone who with-holds from them their just share of navigation and commerce; that it is she who has involved them in wars, and, of course, that the curtailing of her colonial domination and wealth, would tend to increase their opulence and to insure their tranquillity. That this is impudently false we know, and the nations, or, at least, the governments, of the Continent know it too; but, those courts, one only excepted, are afraid of France, they are in her power, and, in order to lengthen out their own existence, they will assist in furthering her views, not, perhaps, with ships or with men; but with their no less hostile and mischievous neutrality. Mr. Dundas, full of confidence in those "four-pounders," which, in his answer to Dr. Laurence, he contended were so much superior to the stipulations of treaties, will, doubtless, smile at these artful manœuvres of France; but, we can assure him, that, after having lately read the observations of a French commercial writer on the speech to which we have now alluded *, we are far from feeling that exultation which seemed to animate his breast, when, backed with his trusty clan, he so bravely commanded his opponent to "put his motions in his pocket." —The troubles of India are, we fear, about to begin. The whole world, without the exception of one single country, grudges us the possession of the riches which we derive from the East, and which, though in reality immense, have been magnified a million fold by the envy of other nations. While, indeed, we maintained our antient reputation for power and for courage, the effects of this envy were confined to the breast of those who entertained it; but, now that we are lowered in the just estimation of the world, now that we have, by a solemn act and deed, proclaimed to the universe, that we are become *inferior* to the rival against whom our fathers so long, so bravely and so successfully contended; now that we are degraded, stripped of our honours, and branded with the marks both of dishonesty and cowardice, we have no right to hope, that the world will leave us in the enjoyment of our wealth.

During the last week, mention has been made in Parliament of the impediments, which the operation of the treaty of peace has thrown in the way of our trade to the Bay of Honduras. ADMIRAL BERKELEY asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether any communication or arrangement had taken place, since the conclusion of peace, between the government of this country, and the court of Spain, *respecting the right of this country to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras and Campeche.* To this the Chancellor replied, that no arrangement of this sort had *as yet definitively* taken place; but that it long had been in contemplation to settle some commercial relations with that country, the completion of which was still retarded by circumstances. He might however observe, he said, that *no special arrangement was yet fixed upon concerning our right to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras and Campeche.* What! is it come to this already? Are there to be *arrangements*, then, respecting this right? And are these arrangements, *as yet, not fixed upon?* Well do we remember, that the opposers of the definitive treaty insisted, that by the omission, in that fatal compact, to *renew former treaties*, we had lost, or, at least, greatly endangered, several of our rights, and, amongst the rest, that of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, which right was particularly mentioned by Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, Dr. Laurence, and several other speakers. The reply of Lord Hawkesbury was, "that the "right to cut logwood in the Bay of Hon"duras was ceded to us in 1787; that it was "a settlement which we *possessed of right*, "and to which the Spaniards were as much

* *Etat Commercial de la France, au Commencement du dix-neuvième Siècle, &c. &c.* P. J. BLANC DE VOLX.—This work is just published. The part to which we allude is extremely interesting. It is now under the hands of the translator, and will appear in the Supplement to the Volume, which will be published in the middle of next month.

" bound to refer as we: it was, he said, in " truth, *no omission at all.*" (*Speech, 13th of May*, 1802.) His lordship's expressions are by no means of the clearest; but, it is evident enough, that he regarded our right to cut logwood, not only as not impaired, but as *not at all put in doubt*, by the treaty of Amiens. The Master of the Rolls, whose opinion is, on every account, of more weight than that of Lord Hawkesbury, said, " that our right to " cut logwood, &c. was a *right of possession*, " preserved *throughout the war*, and *not an-* " *nulled by the peace*;" * and, Sir Frederick Eden, adopting implicitly the opinion of the Master of the Rolls, insisted, that " if " the non-renewal of treaties had any effect, " as to this point, it must be *disadvantageous* " *to Spain*; since, by retaining possession " of this settlement, *unfettered* by any stipu- " lations, we should be freed from the en- " gagement entered into by the 17th article " of the treaty of Paris, to demolish our " fortifications erected in the Bay of Hon- " duras." He added, " that Great-Britain " would NOT ALLOW *other nations to avail* " *themselves of the non-renewal of former trea-* " *ties to set up ancient and exploded rights of* " *sovereignty.*" (See Sir F. M. Eden's Letters on the Peace, 2d edit. p. 193.) This was the high tone made use of by the defenders of the peace, in May last, which when compared to the tone now held by the ministers, may serve to show how far we are fallen in the short space of six months: like Falstaff we have a wonderful alacrity in sinking!— This " *right of possession*," this " *unquestion-* *able right*," is now, it seems, not only questioned, but the question is not determined: it is matter of " *arrangement*," and " no ar- " rangement respecting it *has yet been fixed* " *upon.*" At the time, when the omission to renew former treaties was discussed, we made, in speaking of the rights, which had been endangered by that omission, the following observations.—The language of the country to the ministers is this: " either you " have given up those rights, or you have " not; if you have, then do you merit all " the reproach that has been bestowed on " you; if you have not, *let us now see* " *whether you will defend us in the enjoyment of* " *those rights.*" (Register, Vol. I. p. 555). This is the language, which we, in common with the rest of the nation, now address to these " *safe* politicians," these precious guardians of our rights, who, instead of giving an answer to our claims, will set themselves gravely to work to convince us, that the net proceeds of no one right are sufficient to balance the expense of a war, however fortunate and however short its duration. Upon this principle, we say now as we said then, the treaty of Amiens has been concluded; upon this grovelling principle right after right will be yielded, branch after branch, limb after limb, will be lopped off, till this once spreading, lofty, and flourishing empire, becomes a naked, sightless, sapless trunk, fit for nothing but to be hewn down and cast into the fire.—And shall we, the sons of Englishmen, the subjects of the best of kings, stand tamely by while our beloved country and more beloved sovereign are shorn of their honours, impoverished, ruined, and annihilated, to humour the fears and to gratify the avarice of a dastardly and selfish faction! Shame, then, everlasting shame and infamy on our heads!

For an answer to the ever returning question: " *Will there be peace, or war?*" We must beg leave to refer the querists to Buonaparté or the honest Talleyrand; for certain we are, that the sages of Dover-street, " the *prudent* Ministers who govern Great-Britain," know nothing of the matter. They have asked for, and will, of course, obtain, 50,000 sailors for the whole of the ensuing year. They are hurrying out the militia; they are " *keeping an eye on* the affairs of the Continent;" they are " *watching* the encroachments of France;" they know not what the price of the funds will be to-morrow; they, and we along with them, are fairly entered upon that state, described in the Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace: " The consequence of " this state of mistrust, uneasiness, expense, " and danger, on our part; and of threats, " intrigues, and hostile preparations, on the " part of France, will enable her, suddenly, " ly, and with the greatest advantage, to " renew a war, which will be pregnant " with the greatest danger to England, in- " asmuch as the French will have had time " to collect their forces and their means of " attack, so as to bear upon the points " which they have in view; and as they will " moreover have it in their power to choose " both their time and their point of at- " tack," *—Is not this precisely our situation? Are not our predictions, as far as time would permit, most fatally fulfilled? And who, then, shall say that our present apprehensions are groundless?—" Resist- " ance would be *right*, but it is not *expedient*, " until we can find *allies.*" Thus, we are *keeping an eye upon the Continent*, and the Continent is *keeping an eye upon us*: we are

* Speech, 14th of May, 1802.

* Cobbett's Letters on the Peace, 2d edit. p. 101.

both raising our hands in mutual astonishment at each others blindness, perverseness, folly, and degradation, while France is employed day and night in contriving the means of our final destruction. But, the Continent is less, far less to blame than we: the Continent is already in chains; we are, as yet, at liberty; and we have the baseness to wait till our fetters are prepared. Every day, every hour, the means of resistance are diminishing: in a few months we shall see 50,000 men stationed on the shores of the channel, looking us constantly in the face. Not a soldier of the Continent will stir. We shall be kept in a state of constant alarm: no one will know what to rely on: the public funds will be constantly, as they now are, in the hand of Buonaparté, or his successor: men will grow tired, as they are already grown ashamed, of their dishonoured country: they will, by degrees, grow familiar with notions of vassalage to France; till, at last, the question being put, for further submission or war, we greatly fear, they will determine for the former; and then farewell, a long, an everlasting farewell to the independence, and even to the *namé* of England!

By a reference to our domestic articles, it will be perceived, that, in a military and naval view, the kingdom is left still more defenceless than we, on a former occasion, stated it to be. We said, that the Admiralty could not, if an emergency required it, send ten ships of the line out of the ports of England and Ireland. It appears, that, even now, they have but nine ships of the line in commission in Europe; and we are well informed, that, there are not men enough on board the nine to man five of them for sea. The frigates are in the same state. Their names and numbers may serve to fill up the columns of a report to the House of Commons; but, were they, with their present hands, to be sent to sea, very few of them would ever return to port: our coast would be strewed with wrecks.—This is the *economy*, for which the noble Admiral at the head of that department has been extolled. With all his economy, however, he has not yet thought proper to strip Jamaica quite so naked. That island, which, during the last peace, was guarded by *one fifty gun ship and two frigates*, has now *nine ships of the line, nine frigates, and nine ships of war*, notwithstanding the French have, by our connivance and assistance, *removed all danger*, from the threatening shores of St. Domingo! How does this force at Jamaica agree with the predictions of the "*prudent* ministers?" And how does it agree with the ministerial tales of mortality, amongst the French troops? We remember, that the Lord Chancellor (quoting the Duke of Norfolk), said, that, "*appearing to distrust the French* was making "peace with a drawn sword in our hands." (*Debate, May* 13). We not only *appear* to distrust them *now*; but we openly acknowledge that distrust to be the principle of action, the very system on which we proceed.—How long will this last?

It is said, that his Excellency Count Stahremberg, being a few days ago at Paris, on his way from Vienna to London, received an order from the French government to quit the territory of the Republic in *twenty-four* hours. To obey this order is, as every one must know, *absolutely impossible*; and, therefore, if such an order has really been given, the object must be to expose the Count to arrest and imprisonment in some obscure town or village, where * * * * * * *. Let Capt. D'Auvergne tell the rest, which, by the bye, he ought to do, and under his own name: it is a duty he owes to himself, to his country, and to the world.—Count Stahremberg has, during his visit to Vienna, received, from the hands of his Imperial Master, the Order of the Golden Fleece; a very great honour most assuredly, but not half so great, as that of being the object of the jealousy and hatred of Buonaparté. We hope he will escape from the dangers that threaten him, and arrive once more safe in England, where he will be greeted, not with the shouts of the brutal rabble, not by the hypocritical smiles of opulent poltroons, but with the applause of all sensible, honest, and honourable Englishmen, who must know, that if we ever again attempt to make head against France, it must be with the co-operation of the illustrious prince and the gallant and faithful nation, of whom his Excellency is, in every respect, the worthy representative.

☞ *The Letter to Mr. Wilberforce in our next.*

*** *In consequence of the great demand for the last number of the Register, containing* MR. COBBETT'S LETTER *to Lord Auckland, on the* ABUSES IN THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, *the Public are respectfully informed, that it has been reprinted, and is now ready for delivery.*

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